

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

Marc E. Elias Graham M. Wilson Aria C. Branch Perkins Coie LLP 700 13th Street N.W., Suite 600 Washington, D.C. 20005

MAY - 4 2017

RE:

MUR 7124 (EMILY's List and Ranny Cooper in her official capacity as treasurer)

Dear Messrs. Elias and Wilson and Ms. Branch:

On August 17, 2016, the Federal Election Commission notified your client, EMILY's List and Ranny Cooper in her official capacity as treasurer, of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"). On April 27, 2017, the Commission found, on the basis of the information in the complaint, that there is no reason to believe that your client violated the Act. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter.

Documents related to the case will be placed on the public record within 30 days. See Statement of Policy Regarding Disclosure of Closed Enforcement and Related Files, 68 Fed. Reg. 70,426 (Dec. 18, 2003) and Statement of Policy Regarding Placing First General Counsel's Reports on the Public Record, 74 Fed. Reg. 66,132 (Dec. 14, 2009). The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's findings, is enclosed for your information.

If you have any questions, please contact Shanna M. Reulbach, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 694-1638.

Sincerely,

Lynn Y. Tran

Assistant General Counsel

Enclosure
Factual and Legal Analysis

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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RESPONDENTS:

Katie McGinty for Senate and Roberta Golden in her official capacity as treasurer

EMILY's List and Ranny Cooper in her official

capacity as treasurer

WOMEN VOTE! and Leigh Warren in her

official capacity as treasurer

Majority Forward

I. INTRODUCTION

This matter was generated by a Complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission (the "Commission") by the Foundation for Accountability and Civic Trust. The Complaint alleges that the principal campaign committee of U.S. Senate candidate Katie McGinty coordinated television advertisements supporting McGinty's campaign with EMILY's List, a multicandidate political committee; WOMEN VOTE!, an independent-expenditure-only political committee ("IEOPC") affiliated with EMILY's List; and Majority Forward, a 501(c)(4) nonprofit corporation. The Complaint also alleges that WOMEN VOTE! and Majority Forward republished McGinty campaign materials in their advertisements. These actions, according to the Complaint, violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"), because they were not properly disclosed and resulted in excessive and prohibited contributions to the Committee, which the Committee knowingly accepted. However, as discussed in greater detail below, the Commission finds no reason to believe that the Respondents violated 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b), 30116(a) and (f), and 30118(a) and closes the file.

MUR: 7124

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II. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

2 A. Factual Background

- 3 Katie McGinty was a 2016 U.S. Senate candidate in Pennsylvania. Katie McGinty for
- 4 Senate and Roberta Golden in her official capacity as treasurer (the "Committee") was her
- 5 principal campaign committee and maintained her campaign website. EMILY's List and Ranny
- 6 Cooper in her official capacity as treasurer ("EMILY's List") is a multicandidate political
- 7 committee registered with the Commission, ² and WOMEN VOTE! and Leigh Warren in her
- 8 official capacity as treasurer ("WOMEN VOTE!") is an IEOPC affiliated with EMILY's List
- 9 and registered with the Commission. Majority Forward is a 501(c)(4) nonprofit corporation.⁴
- 10 In 2016, WOMEN VOTE! and Majority Forward paid for and aired television
- 11 commercials in Pennsylvania supporting McGinty and attacking her opponents.⁵ The Complaint
- alleges that the Committee used McGinty's campaign website to coordinate with WOMEN
- 13 VOTE! and Majority Forward about the content and distribution of these commercials.⁶
- 14 Specifically, the Complaint alleges that the website had a link to an "obscure" subpage that
- contained tips and instructions about the types of ads that IEOPCs and other organizations should

Statement of Candidacy, Kathleen Alana McGinty (Aug. 4, 2015); KATIE MCGINTY DEMOCRAT FOR SENATE, https://katiemcginty.com/ (last visited Feb. 8, 2017) (bearing a "paid for by Katie McGinty for Senate" disclaimer).

² Amended Statement of Organization, EMILY's List (June 4, 2013).

EMILY's List & WOMEN VOTE! Resp. at 1 (Oct. 6, 2016); Amended Statement of Organization, WOMEN VOTE! (Nov. 4, 2015).

Majority Forward Resp. at 1 (Oct. 7, 2016).

See infra at 4-5.

⁶ Compl. at 1 (Aug. 15, 2016).

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1 run to maximize the McGinty campaign's resources and chances of success. That subpage was
2 entitled "Notice."⁷

The Complaint explains that the "Notice" subpage on the Committee's website had a different visual appearance than the rest of the website, did not contain any links back to the website's homepage or to other subpages, repeatedly used the phrase "voters need to know," and then followed that phrase with a recitation of the information the campaign wanted publicized in ads. The Complaint alleges that the "Notices" would indicate what segment of the Pennsylvania population should be targeted with the ads and that the Committee changed the "Notice" page when it wanted groups to produce new advertisements or wanted to encourage groups to keep airing a particular ad that was having an impact.

The Complaint cites three instances in which it alleges the Committee published information on the "Notice" page and WOMEN VOTE! and Majority Forward responded by paying for the Committee's desired advertising. We compare the Committee's "Notices" and the advertisements side by side.

⁷ *Id.* at 2.

⁸ *Id*.

⁹ *Id.* at 2-4.

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"Notice" Page

In March 2016, the "Notice" page stated:

At this point of the campaign, voters in Philadelphia and women all across the state of Pennsylvania need to know that Katie McGinty thinks too many families get the short end of the stick and [are] unable to achieve economic security, while the special interests get ahead. As the ninth of ten children and the daughter of a police officer who walked the beat and [a] restaurant hostess, Katie McGinty is fighting to help everyday families, who have been ignored for too long. Katie McGinty is a problem solver who will create jobs, grow wages, and create opportunity.

WOMEN VOTE! Commercial

On April 5, 2016, WOMEN VOTE! began airing an advertisement entitled "Get:"

Get up. Get to school. Get to work. Get by. Katie McGinty knows the routine. Her dad was a Philly cop, mom worked in a restaurant. Then... hard work opened doors. Now... it's not quite enough. But McGinty's working to change that. Helping create thousands of new jobs. She'll always stand up for manufacturing, higher wages, and equal pay for women. So opportunity never gets out of reach. Katie McGinty for Senate. 10

- The Complaint notes that the information about McGinty's parents was already readily available
- 2 on the "About Katie" subpage of the campaign website, yet the Committee published it again on
- 3 the "Notice" page. The Complaint asserts that this dual publication is evidence that the "Notice"
- 4 page had a different purpose than the rest of the website. 11

"Notice" Page

In early April 2016, the Committee updated the "Notice" page to read:

Voters in Philadelphia and women across the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania still need to know the real Joe Sestak [McGinty's primary opponent] record. He supported a budget plan backed by Tea Party Republicans that would have cut Social Security and Medicare benefits, raised the Social Security retirement age to 69, and forced higher out-of-pocket spending for Medicare recipients.

WOMEN VOTE! Commercial

On April 11, 2016, WOMEN VOTE! began airing a second commercial entitled "Spin:"

For Senate, no spin . . . just facts.

Joe Sestak supports a plan that the New York

Times reported makes cuts to Social Security
benefits. And the plan raises the retirement
age. It's true. The AARP opposed the plan,
citing dramatic cuts to Medicare benefits. The
plan Sestak supports means higher out-ofpocket costs for millions on Medicare. Any
way you spin it. The truth about Sestak is
gonna hurt. 12

Committee Resp. at 1-3 (Oct. 11, 2016).

¹¹ Compl. at 2-3, 5.

¹² Committee Resp. at 2-4.

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- 1 It appears that both of WOMEN VOTE!'s commercials aired in and around Philadelphia, the
- 2 location mentioned in the "Notices." 13

"Notice" Page **Majority Forward Commercial** On July 6, 2016, the Committee updated the On June 24, 2016, 15 Majority Forward started "Notice" page to state: airing a commercial entitled "Love Affair:" Pennsylvania voters all across the state need to It's a love affair. Pat Toomey [McGinty's keep hearing a lot more about Pat Toomey and general opponent] and Wall Street. Wall Street's given Toomey \$2.7 million dollars in Wall Street. Wall Street's given Toomey \$2.7 million in contributions, and Toomey contributions. And Toomey supported privatizing Social Security in the stock market. supported privatizing Social Security in the stock market. Sen. Toomey made millions as a Wall Street would profit with hundreds of Wall Street banker. Then he moved to Hong billions in fees, even if the market crashed and people lost everything. Pat Toomey, Wall Kong, working for a billionaire Chinese Street. It may be love for them, but it's investor. In Congress, Toomey carries Wall heartache for the rest of us. 16 Street's water – voting to let banks continue their risky practices and opposing cracking down on Chinese currency manipulation. Toomey working for China has helped cost Pennsylvania more than one hundred and twenty thousand jobs. 14

- 3 As to this final commercial, the Complaint acknowledges that Majority Forward aired "Love
- 4 Affair" before the Committee updated McGinty's campaign website to discuss Toomey's
- 5 relationship with Wall Street. The Complaint alleges that coordination occurred because the
- 6 Committee used the "Notice" page to urge Majority Forward and other organizations to keep
- 7 highlighting Toomey's corporate interests in this and additional communications. The

EMILY's List wrote a press release about "Spin," stating that the commercial was "part of WOMEN VOTE!'s \$1 million program that started on April 5th mobilizing voters in the Philadelphia area to support Katie McGinty's bid for Senate." Compl., Attach. E. April 5 was the first day "Get" aired. Committee Resp. at 2.

Committee Resp. at 2.

Majority Forward, Report of Independent Expenditures Made and Contributions Received (July 15, 2016).

¹⁶ Committee Resp. at 4.

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- 1 Complaint also points out that the Committee copied some of Majority Forward's language
- 2 verbatim for the July 6, 2016 "Notice." ¹⁷
- Based on the nature of the "Notice" page, the timing and similarities between the
- 4 "Notices" and the commercials, and the geographic area in which the commercials aired, the
- 5 Complaint alleges that the Committee coordinated with WOMEN VOTE! and Majority Forward
- 6 to produce and/or distribute the three commercials. The Complaint asserts that the
- 7 communications meet the regulations' three-part test for coordination and thus qualify as
- 8 contributions to the Committee. Therefore, according to the Complaint, WOMEN VOTE! and
- 9 Majority Forward, as an IEOPC and a corporation, respectively, violated the Act by making
- prohibited and excessive contributions to the Committee; the Committee violated the Act by
- accepting unlawful contributions; and all three failed to accurately report their activities to the
- 12 Commission. 18

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The Complaint also argues that, even if there was no coordination, WOMEN VOTE! still

republished material from the "Notice" page in its commercials. The Complaint argues that the

commercials and "Notices" had similar if not identical language and addressed the same themes,

amounting to republication. The Complaint then concludes that, because the act of republishing

campaign materials is a contribution, WOMEN VOTE! made prohibited and excessive

contributions to the Committee, the Committee accepted the contributions, and they both failed

19 to accurately report the contributions.¹⁹

¹⁷ Compl. at 3-4, 7.

¹⁸ Id. at 4-6.

¹⁹ Id. at 5, 7. The Complaint's allegations against WOMEN VOTE! pertain only to its alleged republication of the Committee's written materials. The Complaint does not reference video footage, recordings, photographs, or other media.

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Finally, while the Complaint acknowledges that Majority Forward aired "Love Affair"
before the Committee posted the July 2016 "Notice," it suggests that the Committee may have
informed Majority Forward of the content of the "Notice" in private, allowing Majority Forward
to republish the content in "Love Affair." The Complaint alleges that this act of republication
would also be a prohibited and unreported contribution, which the Committee knowingly
accepted.²⁰

The Respondents deny all of the Complaint's allegations. The Respondents first argue that, despite the representations in the Complaint, the "Notice" page was publicly available as part of McGinty's campaign website, and the Commission has determined that publicly available information does not satisfy the regulations' three-part test for coordinated communications.²¹ Furthermore, the Respondents claim that they did not communicate with each other about the commercials and that the evidence cited in the Complaint is insufficient to create an inference that they did.²² Finally, the Respondents state that the text of the WOMEN VOTE! commercials varied substantially from the "Notices," and that mere commonality of theme on its own does not amount to republication.²³

B. Legal Analysis

The Act provides that an expenditure made by any person "in cooperation, consultation, or concert, with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate, his authorized political

Id. at 7. Again, these republication allegations concern only written materials.

Committee Resp. at 5-6; EMILY's List & WOMEN VOTE! Resp. at 4-6; Majority Forward Resp. at 4-6.

²² Committee Resp. at 1, 4; EMILY's List & WOMEN VOTE! Resp. at 1, 3; Majority Forward Resp. at 1-2.

²³ Committee Resp. at 6-7; EMILY's List & WOMEN VOTE! Resp. at 6-7; Majority Forward Resp. at 4.

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- committees or their agents" constitutes an in-kind contribution. 24 IEOPCs and nonprofit
- 2 corporations are prohibited from making contributions to candidates and their authorized
- 3 committees.²⁵ Multicandidate committees may make contributions to candidates and authorized
- 4 committees but are limited to \$5,000 per election.²⁶ It is unlawful for candidates and political
- 5 committees to knowingly accept an excessive or prohibited contribution.²⁷

1. There is no Reason to Believe that WOMEN VOTE! and Majority Forward Coordinated their Communications with the Committee

The Commission's regulations provide a three-part test for determining when a communication is a coordinated expenditure, which is treated as an in-kind contribution.²⁸ The communication must: (1) be paid for by a third party; (2) satisfy one of four "content" standards listed in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c); and (3) satisfy one of five "conduct" standards listed in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d).²⁹ In this matter, the Respondents have not disputed that the commercials satisfy the "payment" and "content" requirements. We therefore focus our analysis on the "conduct" standards.

The Complaint alleges that the commercials satisfy the "request or suggestion" "conduct" standard, which requires that the communication be "created, produced, or distributed at the request or suggestion of a candidate [or] authorized committee." The Commission has

⁵² U.S.C. § 30116(a)(7)(B)(i); 11 C.F.R. § 109.20; see also 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b) (requiring political committees to disclose to the Commission contributions received from other political committees and persons).

²⁵ See 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(f), 30118(a); Advisory Op. at 2010-11 (Commonsense Ten) at 2-3.

²⁶ See 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(2).

²⁷ Id. §§ 30116(f), 30118(a).

²⁸ 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a)-(b).

²⁹ *Id.* § 109.21(a):

Id. § 109.21(d)(1). The Complaint purports to address all five "conduct" standards but provides no evidence or specifics as to any standard but "request or suggestion." See Compl. at 6-7.

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1 explained that the "request or suggestion" "conduct" standard refers to requests or suggestions

2 "made to a select audience, but not those offered to the public generally."³¹ As an example of

3 the distinction between generalized and targeted requests, the Commission has provided that "a

request that is posted on a web page that is available to the general public is a request to the

5 general public and does not trigger the [request or suggestion] conduct standard," whereas a

request sent through an intranet service or by email to a discrete group of recipients would satisfy

7 the standard.³²

In MUR 6821 (Shaheen for Senate), the Commission found that the use of publicly available information, including the use of information contained on a candidate's website, was not sufficient to satisfy the "conduct" standards.³³ The Complaint in the Shaheen matter alleged that Shaheen's principal campaign committee and the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee coordinated with an IEOPC when they posted information about Shaheen's opponent on Shaheen's campaign website and on Twitter. The IEOPC responded to the posts within two days, circulating a television commercial criticizing Shaheen's opponent on the same grounds as discussed in the posts.³⁴

Here, the facts appear to be similar to those present in the Shaheen MUR. Contrary to the statements in the Complaint, the Committee's "Notices" were not obscure and were readily available on the Committee's website, with a featured "Notice" even appearing on the website's homepage. Users could click a "read more" button within a box containing the featured "Notice"

Coordinated and Independent Expenditures, 68 Fed. Reg. 421, 432 (Jan. 3, 2003) (explanation and justification) ("E&J").

³² *Id*.

MUR 6821 (Shaheen for Senate), Factual & Legal Analysis at 7-8 ("F&LA").

³⁴ *Id.* at 1-3.

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- to be taken to the "Notice" subpage, which was still part of the campaign website. Thus, just as
- 2 in MUR 6821, the Committee's alleged request or suggestion for advertising appeared on a
- 3 publicly available website—specifically, the candidate's campaign website—and was directed to
- 4 the public generally instead of a select audience. As such, the McGinty campaign's "Notices" do
- 5 not satisfy the "request or suggestion" "conduct" standard.³⁶

The Complaint also fails to present any information suggesting that the Respondents had any communications beyond the public "Notices." The cited similarities between the "Notices" and the commercials, and the timing and geographic placement of the commercials, are insufficient to show that any additional private communications occurred. Therefore, because the available information does not support a determination or reasonable inference that the "conduct" prong of the coordination test was met, there is no basis to conclude that the commercials qualify as coordinated communications. Accordingly, the Commission finds no reason to believe that the Committee, WOMEN VOTE!, or Majority Forward made or accepted prohibited or excessive contributions, or failed to comply with their reporting requirements, in violation of 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b), 30116(a) and (f), and 30118(a).

2. There is no Reason to Believe that Majority Forward and WOMEN VOTE! Republished McGinty Campaign Materials

Similarly, there is no basis to conclude that the Respondents republished campaign materials. The Commission's regulations provide that, even when there is no evidence of

WayBack Machine, INTERNET ARCHIVE (last visited Feb. 8, 2017) (search for "https://katiemcginty.com/" to see snapshots of what the campaign website looked like at various times during 2016).

See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a), (d); E&J, 68 Fed. Reg. at 432; MUR 6821, F&LA at 8. The Complaint alleges that the "request or suggestion" regulation does not make an exception for "material [] obtained from a publicly available source," so the fact that the "Notices" were publicly available should not prevent the Commission from determining that there was coordination in the distribution of the commercials. Compl. at 6. The Complaint's position, however, is erroneous in light of the just-cited authority.

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1 coordination, "[t]he financing of the dissemination, distribution, or republication, in whole or in

- 2 part, of any . . . campaign materials prepared by the candidate [or] the candidate's authorized
- 3 committee . . . shall be considered a contribution for the purposes of contribution limitations and
- 4 reporting responsibilities of the person making the expenditure."³⁷ Nevertheless, a person may
- 5 reproduce "a brief quote of materials that demonstrate a candidate's position as part of a person's
- 6 expression of its own views" without making a contribution to the candidate.³⁸

In past matters, to determine whether a person republished a candidate's written campaign materials, the Commission has examined the degree of overlap between the two communications. In conducting this analysis, the Commission has concluded that mere thematic similarities between a candidate's campaign materials and a third-party communication are insufficient to establish republication.³⁹ The Commission has also determined that a person may create a communication using sentences similar to those appearing in a campaign's publications, so long as the sentences use different words or phrasings.⁴⁰ Finally, in MUR 6592 (Nebraska Democratic State Central Committee), the Commission determined that there was no republication when a person created ads repeating the same phrase used by a campaign because

¹¹ C.F.R. § 109.23(a); see 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(7)(B)(iii). The candidate who produced the campaign materials does not need to report receiving an in-kind contribution unless the republication of her campaign materials is a coordinated communication. 11 C.F.R. § 109.23(a). As we have already concluded here that the Committee did not coordinate with the other Respondents, the Committee did not have a reporting obligation.

³⁸ 11 C.F.R. § 109.23(b)(4).

MUR 6821, F&LA at 7 (stating that the materials contained "similar themes," but this "overlap" alone was not sufficient to demonstrate republication).

MUR 6502 (Nebraska Democratic State Central Committee), Factual & Legal Analysis at 9 ("F&LA") (citing MUR 2766 (Auto Dealers and Drivers for Free Trade PAC) for the proposition that "similar sentences . . . do not rise to the level sufficient to indicate republication of campaign materials because of differences in wording or phrasing").

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- 1 "the phrase [was] commonly used in political discourse, and the ads also contained significant
- 2 additional language that differed from the campaign materials."41
- 3 i. WOMEN VOTE! Commercials
- The Complaint compared WOMEN VOTE!'s advertisements, "Get" and "Spin," with the
- 5 Committee's March 2016 and April 2016 "Notices" about McGinty's economic agenda and
- 6 Sestak's budget plan, respectively. Beyond those high-level thematic similarities, though—
- 7 which are insufficient on their own to find republication—the advertisements and "Notices" had
- 8 little in common.⁴² A comparison of the statements in the "Notices" and the advertisements
- 9 shows that the communications contained different words and content.

For example, "Get" omitted the Committee's mention of "special interests," McGinty's

siblings, her father "walking the beat," and the description of McGinty as a "problem solver."

On the other hand, "Get" added to the material in the March 2016 "Notice" by stating that

McGinty's father worked in Philadelphia, McGinty would create "thousands" of new jobs, and

that McGinty is committed to manufacturers and women.⁴³ Similarly, while the Committee

sought to link Sestak to Tea Party Republicans in the April 2016 "Notice," "Spin" did not

mention the Tea Party, choosing instead to include references to the New York Times and the

AARP that the "Notice" lacked. While the April 2016 "Notice" and "Spin" also contained some

of the same brief phrases, like "Medicare benefits" and "out-of-pocket," those phrases are

⁴¹ *Id.*

⁴² MUR 6821, F&LA at 7.

See Committee Resp. at 1-3...

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- 1 commonly used in political discourse and policy discussions about the medical system and are
- 2 not evidence of republication.⁴⁴
- In light of the differences in the content and phrasing of the commercials, the
- 4 Commission concludes that there is insufficient "overlap between the [] communications" to
- 5 suggest that WOMEN VOTE! republished the McGinty Committee's "Notices," and the
- 6 Commission finds no reason to believe that WOMEN VOTE! and the Committee violated 52
- 7 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b), 30116(a) and (f), and 30118(a).⁴⁵
 - ii. Majority Forward Commercial

As to Majority Forward's advertisement, "Love Affair," the Complaint admits that Majority Forward created and aired the ad almost two weeks before the Committee posted a "Notice" about Toomey's ties to Wall Street. The Complaint alleges that the timing and wording of "Love Affair" are evidence that "[e]ither the campaign is communicating to Majority First [sic] to continue running the ad, or Majority First [sic] took the language from the campaign." However, the Complaint fails to present sufficient evidence to infer that such an exchange occurred. Therefore, as there is insufficient evidence to conclude that Majority Forward had advance access to the "Notice" and republished it, the Commission finds no reason

to believe that Majority Forward or the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b) and 30118(a),

See id. at 2-4; MUR 6502, F&LA at 9.

MUR 6821, F&LA at 7 (stating that "the only overlap between the two communications" was a commonality of themes and that this was "not enough to suggest" republication); MUR 6502, F&LA at 9.

⁴⁶ Compl. at 3-4.

⁴⁷ *Id.* at 7.

⁴⁸ See id.

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1 3. EMILY's List did not Take Part in the Alleged Activities

EMILY's List violated 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b) and 30116(a)(2)(A) and (f).

Finally, the Commission finds no reason to believe that EMILY's List made an excessive and unreported contribution to the Committee, or that the Committee accepted such a contribution from EMILY's List. EMILY's List did not finance any of the advertisements, ⁴⁹ and to the extent that the Complaint could be read to allege that EMILY's List communicated with the Committee about McGinty's advertising needs and then relayed that information to its IEOPC, WOMEN VOTE!, there is no evidence indicating that such communications occurred. Moreover, EMILY's List and WOMEN VOTE! state that they maintain a firewall, in compliance with the Act, and there is no evidence contradicting that representation or suggesting that the firewall did not function properly. ⁵⁰ Therefore, the Commission finds no reason to believe that

See EMILY's List and WOMEN VOTE! Resp. at 2.

Id. at 7; see 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(h) (providing that none of the "conduct" standards are met when a political committee maintains a proper firewall and commits to writing the policies surrounding the firewall).